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Background Paper 2009:02/ November 2009

FOREST TENURE AND MANAGEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

This paper surveys the evolution of forest tenure and management in British Columbia

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INTRODUCTION

Forest tenure systems are an important determinant of forest policy in British Columbia. In addition to allocating rights to Crown timber lands and resources, forest tenures regulate rates of harvesting, standards of utilization, forest protection and silvicultural practices, and a wide range of other resource management functions.¹ In 1997, the Ministry of Forests defined the timber tenure system as “the collection of legislation, regulations, contractual agreements, permits and government policies that define and constrain a person’s right to harvest the province’s timber.”² More generally, forms of forest tenure in BC have provided government with revenues integral to the development of infrastructure and public works in the province.

Initiated during the colonial period in BC, several types of forest tenure have been created, many of which overlap and continue to exist. Today, forest tenure is a complex arrangement of new and inherited policies adapted over time to balance the needs of government, private industry, and other stakeholders. This paper surveys the evolution of forest tenure systems and management in BC.

EARLY FORMS OF FOREST TENURE IN BC

Prior to the creation of a forest tenure system in BC, Crown grants were the only way of transferring rights to timber on Crown land.³ These grants issued Crown rights to both lands and natural resources to private interests for a purchase fee. Since settlement and development were of primary interest to the colony, Crown land grants included rights to forests, which were accorded little specific value on their own.⁴

The first form of forest tenure in BC was introduced during the colonial period. The passage of the No. 27 land ordinance in 1865 granted government the ability to lease Crown lands for timber cutting subject to rents, terms, and conditions.⁵ The introduction of timber leases was an important development as, unlike earlier Crown grants, timber leases provided a system whereby the government could allow timber resource development by private industry without relinquishing title to the land. The retention of Crown title in early lease arrangements set a precedent for subsequent forest tenure policies. As a result, 94% of provincial lands today remain vested with the Crown, making BC one of the provinces with the highest percentages of Crown-owned lands.⁶

Despite the introduction of a tenure system as early as 1865, some provincial forest lands were subsequently granted for railway construction purposes. BC’s terms of union with Canada in 1871, for instance, guaranteed 17,000 square miles of Crown land to the federal government for the

Provincial Ministries Responsible for Forestry

The ministry responsible for forestry has changed several times since Confederation, when the BC Department of Lands and Works oversaw the administration of forests on Crown lands. Currently, the Ministry of Forests and Range oversees forestry in the province. See the [appendix](#) for a list of ministries and ministers responsible for forestry in BC.

construction of a trans-continental railway. Later in 1884, coal magnate Robert Dunsmuir received two million acres of Vancouver Island's richest timberlands in exchange for building the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway.⁷ Although portions of these lands were eventually returned to the province, many Crown land grants for railway construction remain in effect today.

EVOLVING TENURE SYSTEMS, 1888-1945

Previously subject to the discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, terms for timber leases were standardized in law in 1888. That year, an amendment to the *Land Act* set provisions for the issuing of special timber licenses. These licenses granted cutting rights to timber on unpre-empted Crown lands subject to the payment of annual rental fees of ten cents per acre and royalty payments of fifty cents per thousand feet of timber scaled. License holders were also required to erect a lumber mill in the province to process cut timber. Additional forms of timber licensing also began to emerge in this period. These included the creation of handloggers' licenses in 1888 and introduction of hemlock bark harvesting permits in 1891.⁸

Despite the initiation of standardized licensing terms in 1888, government revenues generated from tenure arrangements remained low throughout the late-nineteenth century. Payments derived from timber leases, royalties, and licenses in 1899-1900 amounted to \$179,248, or less than twelve percent of all provincial revenue.⁹ Although *Land Act* amendments in 1891 and 1892 allowed the auctioning of leased timber lands and lease periods of up to twenty-one years, provincial forest resources did not begin to be systematically developed until after 1900. In his history of the forest industry in the Pacific Northwest, Richard A. Rajala notes how logging activities in BC erupted after Frederick W. Weyerhaeuser purchased 900,000 acres of forestland in Western Washington in 1900, touching off a wave of speculative activity in Pacific coast timber. Competitive capitalism, Rajala notes, bred a ruthless and exploitative approach to forest resources in this period.¹⁰ Heavily dependent on external markets and commodity prices, the provincial forest economy would undergo numerous boom/bust cycles over the next century.

Legislative changes in this period helped to open up provincial forestry to new development. For a short time beginning in 1901, the government allocated special pulp leases permitting companies to harvest wood for pulp and operate pulp mills based on lease capacity.¹¹ Initially limited to holding one timber license at a time, companies also began to be permitted to possess several timber licenses following a *Land Act* amendment in 1903. The act was amended again two years later to allow special timber licenses to be transferable among companies and annually-renewable for up to twenty-one years.¹²

By 1905, however, rising concerns over rampant staking of BC forest lands and low government revenues from logging also resulted in the introduction of more stringent requirements for timber harvesting. The amended *Land Act* of that year, while allowing the renewal and transfer of special timber licences, imposed reductions in the size of leasable lands and stipulated that lands for any new and renewed licenses be subject to survey by a provincial land surveyor.¹³ In 1907, the province went even further by

placing all timber lands not already taken up by Crown grant, lease, or license, in reserve.¹⁴

Two years later, the first of several provincial royal commissions of inquiry on forestry was struck. Chaired by Minister of Lands, Fred J. Fulton, the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Timber and Forestry was mandated to inquire into “generally all matters connected with the timber resources of the Province.” The Fulton Commission issued a final report in 1910 listing a series of recommendations, including the survey of all remaining unalienated timber lands and the creation of a provincial department of forests. The commission also advocated the imposition of stricter government controls on timber sales and continuation of the moratorium on future disposals of Crown lands.¹⁵

Several commission recommendations were later incorporated in the *Forest Act* of 1912. The first provincial act passed specifically on forestry, the *Forest Act* created a Forest Service Branch to “control and administer all matters relating to and in anywise connected with forestry.”¹⁶ In addition to continuing the earlier requirement that any lands included in new licenses be surveyed, the *Forest Act* also allowed for the creation of new forest reserves: stands of timber not subject to lease, sale, or occupation without prior approval by cabinet.¹⁷ The imposition of stricter controls over leasing arrangements provided a way for the government to stem rates of deforestation while increasing revenues derived from logging. While the changes ushered in by the 1912 *Forest Act* reflected the government’s growing recognition of the higher value of lands containing timber resources, policies ensuring the long-term and sustained management of provincial forest resources remained virtually non-existent. By the Second World War, however, concern over the future of the province’s forests culminated with the striking of another royal commission to reexamine forest policy.

Provincial Commissions on Forestry

Commissions have played an important role in the development of forest policies in BC. Several royal commissions and commissions of inquiry have been struck over the past century to examine policies and to recommend reform. Full text versions of commission reports can be viewed via the Ministry of Forests website:

(<http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/hfd/library>)

- [1909 -1910](#) Royal Commission of Inquiry on *Timber and Forestry*, Fred J. Fulton, Chairman
- [1945](#) Public Inquiries Act: *Report of the Commissioner Relating to the Forest Resources of British Columbia*, The Honourable Gordon McG. Sloan, Commissioner
- [1956](#) Public Inquiries Act: *Report of the Commissioner Relating to the Forest Resources of British Columbia*, The Honourable Gordon McG. Sloan, Commissioner
- [1976](#) Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Resources: *Timber Rights and Forest Policy in British Columbia*, Peter H. Pearce, Commissioner
- [1991](#) *Forest Resources Commission: The Future of our Forests*, A.L. (Sandy) Peel, Chairman

FOREST MANAGEMENT AFTER WORLD WAR TWO

BC's forest tenure system changed relatively little during the first half of the twentieth century. By WWII, however, changing conditions and a growing need for more long-term forestry planning created new pressures for reform to existing tenure arrangements. Moreover, short-term timber allocations under previous licensing schemes were proving incapable of ensuring steady timber production and the steady flow of raw timber supplies necessary for companies to secure investments in new manufacturing enterprises.¹⁸

A second provincial royal commission on forestry was appointed in 1943 under BC Chief Justice Gordon McG. Sloan. The Sloan Commission's 1945 report described BC's forest resources as "a slowly descending spiral," the result of companies continually cutting areas and moving into new lands to maintain production. Sloan recommended a shift in forest policies away from "unmanaged and unregulated liquidation of our forested areas to a planned and regulated policy of forest management."¹⁹ The recommendation was significant since it introduced the concept of "sustained yield" forestry policy, which Sloan defined as "the maintenance of forest cover and growth, thus ensuring a perpetual supply of raw material for forest industries with consequent stability of industrial communities and assurance of permanent payrolls."²⁰ Under the proposed system, the Crown would continue to retain underlying title to forest lands while industrialists would be assured a steady supply of forest resources.

The *Forest Act Amendment Act* passed in 1947 implemented many of the Sloan Commission's recommendations. The act granted the minister the ability to issue forest management licenses modeled on area-based, rather than volume-based, harvesting rights. The new act also required timber companies to develop management and working plans designed to maintain perpetual yield and operation. Older forms of forest tenure remained valid but could be added to larger new sustained yield management units, thereby consolidating timber resources.²¹ The advent of forest management licenses (later called tree-farm licenses) and sustained yield management units (later named timber supply areas) laid the foundation for BC's modern forest tenure system.

While the 1947 changes to the *Forestry Act* marked a turn away from short-term forestry leases and licenses towards longer-term forest management and stricter government controls, the shift did not slow the rate of deforestation nor stem the practice of clearcutting. Post-war economic growth and high demands for provincial lumber fuelled an expansion of logging. During the five years after 1947, for example, the total amount of timber scaled in BC rose from 4,188 million to 4,938 million board feet.²² Furthermore, as Rajala notes, "Management plans bore only a casual resemblance to what occurred in the woods, government foresters commented frequently on the constant vigilance required to keep logging practice on the tenures at acceptable standards, and mill requirements carried more weight in the determination of allowable cuts than did sustainability."²³

Provincial forest policies underwent another significant review in the mid-1950s when Sloan was appointed to head another Royal Commission to examine the changes enacted in 1947. Published in 1956, the second Sloan Commission report identified the forest industry's high dependence on foreign markets and the need to produce timber-derived products on the world market at competitive prices. Towards this goal, the report

advocated the development of long-term planning and administrative flexibility in BC forest management.²⁴ However, aside from the introduction of farm wood-lot licenses in 1948—which allocated farmers timber rights to small areas of Crown forest land—and the granting of new taxation relief to owners of Crown-granted land agreeing to practice sustained yield forestry in 1951, few major changes to forest policy were enacted immediately following the release of the second Sloan Commission report.²⁵ Some reforms introduced over subsequent years included the issuance of pulpwood harvesting licenses for interior lands; an amendment to the *Forest Act* in 1961 granted the minister powers to designate Crown lands as pulpwood harvesting areas.²⁶

Logging operations continued to expand after mid-century and into new interior regions. In addition to technological improvements allowing more efficient logging practices, new inventory information and utilization practices led to increased estimates for merchantable timber.²⁷ In 1966, for instance, the province adopted “close utilization” (also known as “third band”) standards. These new guidelines allowed greater utilization of wood resources considered unmerchantable under the previous intermediate utilization standard.²⁸ Other changes instituted included the introduction of timber sale harvesting licenses in 1967, which allowed licensees to consolidate timber sale cutting rights under larger and longer-term tenures. Timber sale harvesting licences also afforded companies greater involvement in public sustained yield unit management, which previously had fallen under the direct control of the Forest Service.²⁹

POLICY CYCLES AND POLITICS, 1972-1991

The total amount of timber scaled in BC more than doubled under the Social Credit government between 1952 and 1972, increasing from 847 million to 1.96 billion cubic feet.³⁰ By the 1970s, however, markets for forest products were declining and provincial forest policies began to face new scrutiny. Public advocacy groups criticized the narrow scope of forestry policies under the public sustained yield unit system and called for greater recognition of the recreational uses of forest lands. Environmental organizations, fish and wildlife groups, commercial fishers, and the federal Fisheries service also increased pressures on the provincial government to reform forest policies to address environmental concerns and the impact of logging on fishery resources. Overall, new demands for the adoption of multiple-use forestry policies began to gain significant momentum in this period.

The 1972 election of the New Democratic Party marked the end of twenty years of Social Credit forestry management. Under Minister of Lands, Forests, and Water Resources Robert (Bob) Williams, the new government undertook a series of policy reforms designed to increase government revenues from forestry, enlarge park space, address environmental concerns, and, more generally, modernize forest policies to adapt to changing conditions. One such initiative was the introduction of Planning Guidelines for Coast Logging Operations. The guidelines proposed new regulatory forestry practices such as increased protections for forest cover for fish and game through new riparian standards.³¹ The guidelines also revised rules for clearcutting and introduced the practice of “patch logging” or checkerboard pattern cuts. As Richard A. Rajala notes in his study

of the guidelines, these reforms were part of the new government's broader interest in increased regulation of industry and the imposition of steeper royalties for public resources.³²

Other actions taken by the government during this time included the appointment of the Task Force on Crown Timber Disposal. Mandated in January 1974 to "Investigate the policies, legislation, procedures and practices governing the disposal of Crown timber in the province," the task force examined Crown charges for timber and harvesting rights.³³ Later that year, the government passed the *Timber Products Stabilization Act*, which authorized the creation of a Forest Products Board to collect and publish data related to forest product markets and prices, and to recommend actions for improving market performance.³⁴ The government also acquired four ailing and exiting forest companies between March 1973 and February 1974.³⁵ Many NDP reforms, however, were not well-received by the forest industry; in the end, as Jeremy Wilson notes, government initiatives in this period did not lead to a significant restructuring of the BC forest economy.³⁶ Faced with industry resistance and an overall recession in forestry markets, the government began moving towards a more flexible "folio planning system" immediately prior to the election of the Social Credit government in 1975.³⁷ Although NDP policies may not have fundamentally altered provincial forestry practices, a "war in the woods" between environmental and pro-industry groups began to take root in this period.

A fourth major provincial commission of inquiry on BC forestry was established just prior to the change in government.³⁸ Commissioner Peter H. Pearce led the undertaking and published his findings in a two-volume 1976 report. The Pearce report surveyed recent industry developments and observed growing politicization and environmental concerns relating to forest management policies. In addition to recommending changes to annual allowable cut rates and methods of timber inventory determination, the report advocated a broad, inter-agency concept of integrated resource planning, one recognizing the principle of multi-use forest management. Pearce also advocated comprehensive overhaul of the *Forest Act* to increase governmental involvement in sustained unit management, clarify timber quota and tenure arrangements, and remove outdated statutory provisions.³⁹ Some of Pearce's approximately 400 recommendations were later implemented as part of the government's revision of provincial forest policies.

The Social Credit government began reforming provincial natural resource management law following its election, passing the *Ministry of Forests Act*, *Forest Act*, and *Range Act* in 1978. These acts set out new multi-use principles, clarified the allowable cut determination process, enhanced tenure security, and established "use it or lose it" rules for tenure holders.⁴⁰ Public sustained yield units were also replaced with larger timber supply areas featuring calculable allowable annual cut rates apportioned to various types of new licenses. These included modern replaceable forest licenses, timber sale licenses, woodlot licenses, and pulpwood agreements.⁴¹ In general, Social Credit policies enacted in the 1970s favoured forest industry growth by moving towards a more integrated forest management system. Regulatory guidelines were relaxed and replaced with site-specific folio planning.

Other notable undertakings during this period included the Forest and Range Resource Analysis, which sought to examine and take inventory of provincial forest

resources. In accordance with the forest and range legislation passed in 1978, the Five-Year Forest and Range Resource Program was also initiated. The program marked a new attempt to clarify ministry goals and improve forestry management.⁴² The government later took steps to reorganize the tenure system by replacing most volume-based licenses in the Interior with area-based tree farm licences subject to new utilization and processing standards. Both industry and environmental organizations, however, resisted attempts to “roll over” the timber supply areas with timber forest licences, and the process was halted in 1989.⁴³

Meanwhile, the environmentalist cause gained new momentum in the 1980s and 1990s, fuelling renewed scrutiny of forestry policies. Highly publicized clashes between forest companies and environmentalist and First Nations groups, such as those on Meares Island in the mid-1980s and in Clayoquot Sound in 1993, drew unprecedented international attention to provincial forestry practices. Steven Bernstein and Benjamin Cashore note how “eco-forest policies in BC underwent a series of well-publicized changes in the 1990s that coincided with intense international scrutiny of the government and forest companies, and changing norms on forest practices promoted internationally.”⁴⁴ Domestic and international pressures were influential enough that changes were deemed necessary to maintain foreign market demands and investor confidence. Reforms undertaken in this period included the 1988 adoption of new riparian area protection standards with the introduction of the British Columbia Coastal Fisheries Forestry Guidelines.⁴⁵ In January 1989, the government temporarily froze plans to create one hundred new tree farm licences and pledged to undertake new public consultations.⁴⁶ The initiation of the BC Treaty process in 1993 also marked greater inclusion of First Nations in land use planning decisions and resource sharing in areas such as forestry.⁴⁷

In 1989, another major commission on forestry was struck. The British Columbia Forest Resources Commission was tasked that year with investigating the provincial forest land base and recommending improvements to its management. Under chairman A. L. (Sandy) Peel, the commission released a report in 1991 advocating a series of changes such as reductions in timber allocations from license holders in exchange for more secure timber allocations. The report called for the adoption of established forest practices designed to coordinate forestry land use planning, renewable resource management, and harvesting techniques in hopes of fostering more “ecologically sound and socially responsive forestry.”⁴⁸ The Peel Commission also recommended the establishment of a Crown Forest Resources Corporation: a legislated entity responsible for managing provincial forests and empowered to collect revenue, borrow funds where necessary, and pay dividends to the government.⁴⁹ Also during this time, the Ministry of Forests conducted an internal review of the processes leading to the determination of allowable annual cuts for timber supply areas. Released in March 1991, the review report recommended changes to existing timber supply analyses and annual allowable cuts in order to keep pace with rapidly-changing forest resource management. One month later, a proposed action plan for implementing the review recommendations was released.⁵⁰

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, 1991-PRESENT

Discussions to reform provincial forestry policies were underway by the time the NDP returned to form government in the fall of 1991. The new government, endorsing a policy platform of forestry reform and increased environmental protections, instituted a number of organizational and programmatic changes delegating increased land use planning power to local communities. These initiatives included the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE), the Land and Resource Management Plan process, the Land Use Coordination Office, and the Protected Areas Strategy.⁵¹ New Coast Harvest Planning Guidelines were also introduced in 1992, revising earlier 1972 guidelines pertaining to size requirements. Jeremy Wilson summarizes NDP changes to forestry practices as a complex set of policy implements for land use planning and environmental management.⁵²

In 1994, the government launched the Forest Renewal Strategy, a long-term plan designed to increase forest sustainability, create new jobs, and protect forest-based ecosystems. The strategy outlined a series of priorities, including improved reforestation and silviculture practices, and intensive environmental clean-up. Plans also included investments in value-added opportunities, worker retraining, and community development. A new agency, Forest Renewal BC, was established to manage and direct forest renewal investments.

Another significant development was the passage of the *Forest Practices Code Act*. The 1994 act, followed by regulations and high priority guidebooks, established a code of new standards for forest practices, planning, and enforcement. The code required forest companies to engage in planning on a larger scale than in the past—up to a hundred thousand hectares, the size of large watersheds. It also introduced a new system for enforcement and compliance by imposing high fines for code infractions.⁵³ Limits were also imposed to control the impact of the code on the forestry industry; harvest reductions in the allowable annual cut were set to not exceed six percent.⁵⁴ George Hoberg characterizes the shift towards greater regulation of the forest industry that began in the early 1990s as part of a general attempt to formalize policy into binding rules and regulations. The introduction of forestry practice guidelines and regulatory codes, Hoberg notes, sought to strike an appropriate balance between the economic benefits of logging with the

Growing Environmental Protests



BC forest policies attracted international attention during the summer of 1993 when hundreds of protesters were arrested for blockading old growth logging in Clayoquot Sound. The arrests have been described as Canada's largest demonstration of civil obedience. Growing environmental protests and international campaigns to boycott BC wood products began exerting significant pressure on government to revise forest practices in this period.

Image source: Aldo de Moor, courtesy [Wikipedia](#)

consequences of logging for other values of concern in the forest, including ecological, aesthetic, and recreational values.⁵⁵

By the late-1990s, declining revenues and job losses in the provincial forest industry motivated further reforms to forestry practices. In 1997 and 1998, *Forest Statutes Amendment* acts and subsequent regulations were passed aimed at “streamlining” the code to improve efficiency. The election of the Liberal government in 2001 ushered in further changes to forestry practices, such as the 2002 passage of the *Forest and Range Practices Act*. The act’s implementation and subsequent regulations enacted in 2004 replaced the earlier forest practices code with a new set of forestry management guidelines. In addition to reducing administrative requirements and moving towards results-based practices, the new regulations require companies to prepare forest stewardship plans detailing tree harvests, site reforestation, and environmental protections. Forest stewardship plans must be approved by government prior to the commencement of logging operations.⁵⁶ Another post-2001 initiative was the creation of BC Timber Sales. This stand-alone organization within the Ministry of Forests and Range oversees timber pricing and public auctions of timber on Crown lands. Auctions for timber rights on Crown lands are auctioned by setting an upset stumpage rate and inviting sealed tender bids. BC Timber Sales has twelve business areas and an operational presence in thirty-three locations across the province. As of 2007, BC Timber Sales was responsible for twenty percent of the provincial Crown allowable annual cut.⁵⁷

Another notable development in recent years has been the growing inclusion of First Nations in forest management. As noted, First Nations have become increasingly involved in forestry discussions as part of treaty negotiations. The signing of other land and resource sharing agreements, designed to enhance economic opportunities, support social development, and, in some cases, support the negotiation of treaties with First Nations, has given First Nations more access to forestry resources and planning.⁵⁸ The government’s initiation of the First Nations Forest Strategy in 2003 further reflects the push to increase Aboriginal involvement in forestry. In addition to allowing First Nations new access to forest lands and revenues held under existing tenure arrangements, the strategy is designed to provide stability for forest and range development and operations.⁵⁹

Despite undergoing notable reform in recent years, provincial forest policies continue to be a source of contention moving into the twenty-first century. The export of raw logs on tenured Crown lands is one such area of ongoing conflict. Restricted under the *Forest Act*, raw log exports are permissible by cabinet exemption.⁶⁰ Increases to exemptions allowing the export of raw logs have been criticized in recent years for contributing to industry job losses.⁶¹ The status of lands held in tree farm licenses has also generated heated public debate in recent years. In 2004, the government removed 88,000 hectares of private lands from tree farm licenses on privately-held land on Vancouver Island, provoking criticism from environmentalists.⁶² In 2007, the Ministry of Forests and Range approved the release of an additional 28,000 hectares of private lands on Vancouver Island from three coastal tree farm licences held by Western Forest Products Inc.⁶³ These examples demonstrate how logging practices and designations of forested lands, of which approximately ten percent are currently protected areas, persist as a source of debate amid policy reforms and industry changes.⁶⁴

More generally, the forest industry's perpetual dependency on external markets and commodity prices continues to contribute to long-term economic instability in the forest sector. Various forms of tenure, by delegating considerable management authority to the forest industry, have proven particularly susceptible to the forces of shifting markets and private capital investment. Patricia Marchak contends that tenure systems of the past have been misguided by the assumption that transfers of harvesting rights to forest companies would implicitly lead to economic diversification and result in a shift from a staples-based to mature industrial economy.⁶⁵ Michael Howlett maintains that the long-standing dominance of BC's tenure system has, in turn, limited attempts to significantly reform provincial forestry management: "the system of property rights created by the institutionalization of the tenure system over the first century of the province's history has created an almost insurmountable obstacle to substantial policy change, despite significant changes in recent years in the level and extent of public and policy community support for the existing system."⁶⁶

CONCLUSION

BC's forest tenure system remains a complex assemblage of new and old policies evolved over time in response to shifting economic, political, and social circumstances. Initially modeled on the goal of economic development in the colonial period, forest tenure policies have shifted several times over the course of the twentieth century to meet the needs of various stakeholders in provincial forestry. As Lorna Stefanick notes, recent conflicts over forestry practices in BC, more generally, reflect the divergent world views in BC associated, on one side, with forest harvesting and, on the other side, with forest conservation. These opposing frames, she notes, emanate, in part from the unique economic, cultural, and socio-political landscape of British Columbia.⁶⁷

LIST OF PROVINCIAL MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR FORESTRY

Appointment Date	Minister Responsible	Department/Ministry
1871 17-Aug	B. W. Pearse [Acting]	Department of Lands and Works
1871 18-Nov	Henry Holbrook	
1872 12-Jan	G. A. Walkem	
1872 23-Dec	Robert Beaven	
1874 11-Feb	Robert Beaven	
1876 1-Feb	F. G. Vernon	
1878 26-Jun	G. A. Walkem	
1882 13-Jun	Robert Beaven	
1883 29-Jan	William Smithe	
1887 1-Apr	F. G. Vernon	
1889 2-Aug	F. G. Vernon	
1892 2-Jul	F. G. Vernon	
1894 5-Oct	G. B. Martin	
1895 4-Mar	G. B. Martin	
1898 15-Aug	C. A. Semlin	
1899 9-Mar	F. L. Carter-Cotton	
1900 1-Mar	J. S. Yates	
1900 21-Jun	W. C. Wells	
1902 22-Nov	W. C. Wells	
1903 2-Jun	Richard McBride	
1903 5-Nov	R. F. Green	
1906 31-Dec	R. G. Tatlow	Department of Lands
1907 7-Mar	F. J. Fulton	
1908 22-Dec	F. J. Fulton	
1909 1-Nov	P. Ellison	
1910 10-Oct	W. R. Ross	
1915 15-Dec	W. R. Ross	
1916 30-Nov	T. D. Pattullo	
1918 6-Mar	T. D. Pattullo	
1927 20-Aug	T. D. Pattullo	
1928 21-Aug	F. P. Burden	
1930 29-Oct	N. S. Lougheed	
1933 1-Jun	Joshua Hinchcliffe	
1933 15-Nov	Arthur W. Gray	
1941 10-Dec	Arthur W. Gray	

LIST OF PROVINCIAL MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR FORESTRY

Appointment Date	Minister Responsible	Department/Ministry
1944 11-May	John Hart	
1944 8-Nov	E. T. Kenney	
1945 28-Mar	E. T. Kenney	
1945 5-Apr	E. T. Kenney	Department of Lands and Forests
1947 29-Dec	E. T. Kenney	
1952 1-Aug	R. E. Sommers	
1956 28-Feb	R. G. Williston	
1962 29-Mar	R. G. Williston	Department of Lands, Forests and Water Resources
1962 30-Mar	R. G. Williston	
1972 15-Sep	R. A. Williams	
1975 22-Dec	Thomas Manville Waterland	Department of Forests
1976 29-Oct	Thomas Manville Waterland	
1978 4-Dec	Thomas Manville Waterland	
1979 5-Jun	Thomas Manville Waterland	
1979 23-Nov	Thomas Manville Waterland	
1982 10-Aug	Thomas Manville Waterland	
1983 26-May	Thomas Manville Waterland	
1985 27-Feb	Thomas Manville Waterland	
1986 17-Jan	D.M. Phillips (Acting)	
1986 1-Feb	Jack Heinrich	
1986 14-Aug	Jack Kempf	Ministry of Forests and Lands
1986 6-Nov	Jack Kempf	
1987 6-Mar	John Savage (Acting)	
1987 31-Mar	Dave Parker	
1988 6-Jul	Dave Parker	Ministry of Forests
1989 1-Nov	Claude Richmond	
1990 2-Apr	Claude Richmond	
1991 5-Nov	Dan Miller	
1992 17-Sep	Art Charbonneau	
1992 16-Dec	Dan Miller	
1993 15-Sep	Andrew Petter	
1996 28-Feb	Dennis Streifel	
1996 17-Jun	David Zirnhelt	
1996 23-Sep	David Zirnhelt	
1998 18-Feb	David Zirnhelt	
1999 21-Jul	David Zirnhelt	

LIST OF PROVINCIAL MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR FORESTRY

Appointment Date		Minister Responsible	Department/Ministry
2000	29-Feb	Jim Doyle	
2000	1-Nov	Gordon Wilson	
2001	5-Jun	Mike De Jong	
2005	16-Jun	Rich Coleman	Ministry of Forests and Range and Minister Responsible for Housing
2008	23-Jun	Pat Bell	Ministry of Forests and Range
2009	19-Jan	Pat Bell	
2009	10-Jun	Pat Bell	

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Task Force on Crown Timber Disposal, "Forest Tenures in British Columbia," (Report prepared by the Task Force on Crown Timber Disposal, 1974), i; British Columbia, Forest Service of British Columbia, *Timber Tenures in British Columbia: Managing Public Forests in the Public Interest* ([Victoria]: Ministry of Forests and Range, 2006), 2.
- ² British Columbia, Ministry of Forests, *Timber Tenure System in British Columbia* ([Victoria]: Ministry of Forests, 1997), 1.
- ³ Donald Mackay, *Empire of Wood: The MacMillan Bloedel Story* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1982), 19; Cortex Consultants Ltd., "A Quick Reference: British Columbia's Timber Tenure System," http://www.cortex.org/TimberTenSysWeb_Nov2001.pdf (Accessed 4 June 2009).
- ⁴ Construction needs in the colony and export markets in California fuelled early demands for Vancouver Island timber in the 1850s. For a history of the early timber industry on Vancouver Island see W. Kaye Lamb, "Early Lumbering on Vancouver Island, 1844-1866 [Parts I and II]," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 2 No. 1 (1938), 31-53, 95-121.
- ⁵ "An ordinance for regulating the acquisition of Land in British Columbia," in *Ordinances Passed by the Legislative Council of British Columbia* (New Westminster: New Government Printing Office, 1865).
- ⁶ Ministry of Agriculture and Lands, "Crown Land Factsheet," http://www.agf.gov.bc.ca/clad/crownland_factsheet.pdf (Accessed 4 June 2009); David Haley and Harry Nelson, "British Columbia's Forest Tenure System in a Changing World: Challenges and Opportunities," Vancouver: BC Forum on Forest Economics and Policy, 2006), n.p.
- ⁷ Mackay, *Empire of Wood*, 15; Richard A. Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), xviii. The terms of BC's entry to Confederation in 1871 guaranteed provincial control over lands and resources, including timber. Previously, the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia controlled disposals of lands and resources since acquiring these rights from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1860.
- ⁸ British Columbia, *Final Report of Inquiry on Timber and Forestry 1909-1910* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1910), D11; *Statutes of British Columbia [SBC]* (1888), ch. 16 s. 8, 18; *SBC* (1891) ch. 15 s. 13.
- ⁹ British Columbia Sessional Papers, "Public Accounts, 1899," (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1900), 20.
- ¹⁰ Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest*, xviii, xix. Between 1888 and 1891, Crown land leases were for thirty-year terms at an annual rental rate of ten cents per acre and royalty rate of fifty cents per thousand feet of trees cut. British Columbia, *Final Report of Inquiry on Timber and Forestry 1909-1910*, D11.
- ¹¹ *SBC* (1901) ch. 30 s. 6. No longer issued after 1905, pulp leases were subsequently renewed and converted to Special Timber Licenses in 1926 and 1927. British Columbia Forest Resources Commission, "A History of Forest Tenure Policy in British Columbia 1858-1978" (October 1989), 3. The 1912 *Forest Act* created pulp licenses allowing the cutting of wood for the manufacture of pulp. *SBC* (1912) ch. 17.
- ¹² *SBC* (1903) ch. 30; *SBC* (1905) ch. 33.
- ¹³ *SBC* (1905) ch. 33.
- ¹⁴ British Columbia, *Final Report of Inquiry on Timber and Forestry*, D13.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, D7, D43-D44, D54-D55.
- ¹⁶ *SBC* (1912) ch. 17 s. 4.
- ¹⁷ *SBC* (1912) ch. 17 s. 12, 25.
- ¹⁸ British Columbia, Royal Commission on Forest Resources in British Columbia, *Timber Rights and Forest Policy: The Report of the Royal Commission on Forest Resources in British Columbia* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1976), 3.
- ¹⁹ British Columbia, *Report of the Commissioner Relating to the Forest Resources of British Columbia* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1945), Q127, Q143.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, Q127.
- ²¹ *SBC* (1947) ch. 38.
- ²² Province of British Columbia, Department of Lands and Forests, "Report of the Forest Service, 1948," (Victoria: King's Printer, 1949), LL81; Province of British Columbia, Department of Lands and Forests, "Report of the Forest Service, 1953," (Victoria: King's Printer, 1955), 131.
- ²³ Rajala, *Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest*, 87.
- ²⁴ British Columbia, *Report of the Commissioner Relating to the Forest Resources of British Columbia* [Two Volumes] (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1956), 399-400, 416, 528.

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- ²⁵ British Columbia Forest Resources Commission, "A History of Forest Tenure Policy in British Columbia," 10; Michael Howlett, "The Politics of Long-Term Policy Stability: Tenure Reform in British Columbia Forest Policy," in *In Search of Sustainability: British Columbia Forest Policy in the 1990s*, Cashore, Benjamin et al. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 103.
- ²⁶ Pulpwood harvesting agreements lasted for twenty-one year terms and involved the payment of stumpage and royalty fees for timber cut. *SBC* (1961) ch. 20.
- ²⁷ Royal Commission on Forest Resources in British Columbia, *Timber Rights and Forest Policy*, 4.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 72-73.
- ²⁹ Royal Commission on Forest Resources in British Columbia, *Timber Rights and Forest Policy*, 29-30; British Columbia Forest Service, "Forest Planning in British Columbia: A Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission on Forest Resources," (n.p.: September 1975), 3.
- ³⁰ Province of British Columbia Sessional Papers, "Report of the Forest Service, 1952," (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1953), 133; Province of British Columbia Sessional Papers, "Report of the Forest Service, 1972," (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1973), V94.
- ³¹ Richard A. Rajala, "Forests and Fish: The 1972 Coast Logging Guidelines and British Columbia's First NDP Government," *BC Studies* No. 159 (2008), 83-84, 100, 106.
- ³² Rajala, "Forests and Fish," 82.
- ³³ British Columbia. Task Force on Crown Timber Disposal, "Crown Charges for Early Timber Rights: Royalties and Other Levies for Harvesting Rights on Timber Leases, Licences and Berths in British Columbia [First Report]" [Victoria]: Task Force on Crown Timber Disposal, 1974; British Columbia. Task Force on Crown Timber Disposal, "Timber Appraisal: Policies and Procedures for Evaluating Crown Timber in British Columbia [Second Report]" [Victoria]: Task Force on Crown Timber Disposal, 1974.
- ³⁴ *SBC* (1974) ch. 115.
- ³⁵ These included Ocean Falls, Canadian Cellulose, Plateau Mills, and Kootenay Forest Products. Jeremy Wilson, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 127.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 125, 127; Howlett, "The Politics of Long-Term Policy Stability," 106.
- ³⁷ Richard A. Rajala, "Forests and Fish," 118.
- ³⁸ Royal Commission on Forest Resources in British Columbia, *Timber Rights and Forest Policy*.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 358-360. For a more detailed summary of the Pearce report recommendations, see Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 152-155, 158; British Columbia Forest Resources Commission, "A History of Forest Tenure Policy in British Columbia 1858-1978" (October 1989), 13-17.
- ⁴⁰ Wilson, *Talk and Log*, 158.
- ⁴¹ The new act also introduced "evergreen" replacement provisions for tree farm licenses and forest licenses. British Columbia, Ministry of Forests, *Timber Tenure System in British Columbia* ([Victoria]: Ministry of Forests, 1997), 4.
- ⁴² British Columbia, Ministry of Forests, *Five-Year Forest and Range Resource Program* (Victoria: Ministry of Forests, 1980), 1-2; British Columbia, Ministry of Forests, *Forest and Range Resource Analysis Technical Report* (Victoria: Ministry of Forests, 1980).
- ⁴³ Howlett, "The Politics of Long-Term Policy Stability," 108-109.
- ⁴⁴ Steven Bernstein and Benjamin Cashore, "Globalization, Four Paths of Internationalization and Domestic Policy Change: The Case of EcoForestry in British Columbia, Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* Vol. 33 No. 1 (2000), 69.
- ⁴⁵ Later updated in 1993, the guidelines were the product of negotiations between the province and the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans. George Hoberg, "The British Columbia Forest Practices Code: Formalization and Its Effects," in *Canadian Forest Policy: Adapting to Change*, Michael Howlett, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 353-354.
- ⁴⁶ *Vancouver Sun*, 19 January 1989, "Tree Farm Licences Put on Hold: Minister Seeks Public Opinion," B5.
- ⁴⁷ Although not negotiated under the BC Treaty Process, the Nisga'a Final Agreement signed in 1998 contains provisions for a Nisga'a TFL, transfers of approximately 45,000 hectares of forest lands, and Nisga'a control over forest resource management on treaty lands. See Michael Howlett, "Policy Venues, Policy Spillovers, and Policy Change: The Courts, Aboriginal Rights, and British Columbia Forest Policy," in *In Search of Sustainability: British Columbia Forest Policy in the 1990s*, Benjamin Cashore, George

Hoberg, Michael Howlett, Jeremy Rayner, and Jeremy Wilson (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001), 130.

⁴⁸ Forest Resources Commission, *The Future of Our Forests* (Victoria: Forest Resources Commission, 1991).

⁴⁹ Forest Resources Commission, *The Future of Our Forests*, 25.

⁵⁰ British Columbia, Ministry of Forests, "Review of the Timber Supply Analysis Process for B.C. Timber Supply Areas," (Victoria: Ministry of Forests, 1991), n.p. [preface], 4-6; British Columbia, Ministry of Forests, "Proposed Action Plan for the Implementation of Recommendations from the Report 'Review of the Timber Supply Analysis Process for B.C. Timber Supply Areas,'" (Victoria: Ministry of Forests, 1991)

⁵¹ Jeremy Wilson, "Experimentation on a Leash: Forest Land Use Planning in the 1990s," in *In Search of Sustainability: British Columbia Forest Policy in the 1990s*, Cashore, Benjamin et al. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 32, 34, 39.

⁵² See Ibid., 32-41; George Hoberg, "The 6 Percent Solution: The Forest Practices Code," in *In Search of Sustainability: British Columbia Forest Policy in the 1990s*, Cashore, Benjamin et al. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 64.

⁵³ Sarah Pralle, *Branching Out, Digging In: Environmental Advocacy and Agenda Setting* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2006), 45; Hoberg, "The 6 Percent Solution," 71.

⁵⁴ Hoberg, "The 6 Percent Solution," 72.

⁵⁵ George Hoberg, "The British Columbia Forest Practices Code," 348-349, 353.

⁵⁶ Forest Practices Board, "Board Bulletin, Volume 6 – Guide to the *Forest and Range Practices Act*," http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/377035/infobulletin_6.pdf (Accessed 3 July, 2009); Vaughn Palmer, *Vancouver Sun*, 5 November 2002, "We Still Can't See the 'Results' of Forest Code," A14.

⁵⁷ British Columbia, Ministry of Forests and Range, BC Timber Sales, "Corporate Overview," <http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/bcts/about/bctscorpoverview.pdf> (Accessed 22 July 2009); British Columbia, Ministry of Forests and Range, BC Timber Sales, "Corporate Overview," <http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/bcts/about/bctscorpoverview.pdf> (Accessed 22 July 2009).

⁵⁸ British Columbia, Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, "Key Agreements – Land and Resources," <http://www.gov.bc.ca/arr/treaty/key/default.html> (Accessed 9 September 2009). For discussions of First Nations and forestry see Holly Nathan, "Aboriginal Forestry: The Role of First Nations," in *Touch Wood: BC Forests at the Crossroads*, Ken Drushka, Bob Nixon, and Ray Travers, eds. (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Publishing, 1993): 137-170; Howlett, "Policy Venues, Policy Spillovers, and Policy Change," 120-139.

⁵⁹ British Columbia, Ministry of Forests, "First Nations Forest Strategy: Revenue Sharing and Access to Timber," (Victoria: Ministry of Forests, [2003]).

⁶⁰ Under the *Forest Act*, timber harvested on Crown land must be used or manufactured in the province. Raw logs harvested on private lands can be freely exported. See *Revised Statutes of British Columbia* (1996) ch. 157 s. 127, 128.

⁶¹ Dale Marshall, "Down the Value Chain: The Politics and Economics of Raw Log Exports," (Vancouver: Canadian Center or Policy Alternatives Brief, 2002); *Lake Cowichan Gazette*, 2 February 2005, "Raw Log Exports: Giving up Our Birthright for a Fast Buck," 4.

⁶² *Times-Colonist*, 14 July 2004, "Private Land Pulled From Tree-Farm Licence," A4.

⁶³ See British Columbia, Office of the Auditor General, "Removing Private Land from Tree Farm Licenses 6, 19 & 25: Protecting the Public Interest" (Victoria: Office of the Auditor General, 2008/2009), 1.

⁶⁴ Forest Service of British Columbia, *Timber Tenures in British Columbia*, 2.

⁶⁵ Patricia Marchak, *Green Gold: The Forest Industry of British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 1-2.

⁶⁶ Howlett, "The Politics of Long-Term Policy Stability," 95.

⁶⁷ Lorna Stefanick, "Baby Stumpy and the War in the Woods: Competing Frames of British Columbia Forests," *BC Studies* No. 130 (2001), 41-68.